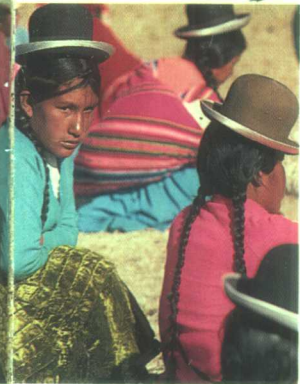


GOVERNMENTS AND POLITICS

In a Changing World



Robert E. G a m e r

GOVERNMENTS AND POLITICS

In a Changing World

Robert E. Gamer

University of Missouri-Kansas City

WCB Brown &
Benchmark
P U B L I S H E R S
Madison, Wisconsin • Dubuque, Iowa

Book Team

Executive Editor *Michael Lange*
Developmental Editor *Roger Wolkoff*
Production Editor *Ann Fuerste*
Designer *Kristyn A. Kalnes*
Art Editor *Jodi Wagner*
Photo Editor *Shirley Lanners*
Visuals/Design Developmental Consultant *Marilyn A. Phelps*
Visuals/Design Freelance Specialist *Mary L. Christianson*
Marketing Manager *Elizabeth Haele*
Advertising Coordinator *Colleen Howes*

Brown & Benchmark

A Division of Wm. C. Brown Communications, Inc.

Executive Vice President/General Manager *Thomas E. Doran*
Vice President/Editor in Chief *Edgar J. Laube*
Vice President/Sales and Marketing *Eric Ziegler*
Director of Production *Vickie Putman Caughron*
Director of Custom and Electronic Publishing *Chris Rogers*



Wm. C. Brown Communications, Inc.

President and Chief Executive Officer *G. Franklin Lewis*
Corporate Senior Vice President and Chief Financial Officer *Robert Chesterman*
Corporate Senior Vice President and President of Manufacturing *Roger Meyer*

Cover photos © Bob Gamer

Copyedited by Anne Caylor Cody

Copyright © 1994 by Wm. C. Brown Communications, Inc.
All rights reserved

A Times Mirror Company

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 92-71556

ISBN 0-697-14730-4

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

Printed in the United States of America by Wm. C. Brown Communications, Inc.,
2460 Kerper Boulevard, Dubuque, IA 52001

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

To my Aunt,

HELENA M. GAMER,

A pioneer in medieval studies who helped keep
the University of Chicago a haven of
research-driven learning.

"It's reSEARCH, not REsearch," she told me
many times. "When students and teachers
combine their energies and insights, they can
find new treasures in old chests. Neither can
do it alone."

PREFACE

Welcome to the study of comparative politics. Regardless of your prior coursework, this field is not entirely new to you, because much of it concerns how you and others think and act.

You probably exert some influence at home, and perhaps at school and elsewhere. If you vote, belong to a group, express opinions about government or policies, or attend meetings, you may have deliberately or accidentally influenced government leaders. You have views and attitudes, perhaps even some strong ones, about politics in this and other countries; so you have probably done some thinking about the topics we will be discussing here. But unless you have taken another course on the subject, you probably have not thought very methodically about why politics is an essential part of life. Why do people behave as they do when they engage in politics? What factors cause politics to operate differently in different countries? Why are some people more successful than others at getting what they want? And you may not have thought much about why you think and act as you do with regard to politics, and how your political behavior (or lack of it) might affect your life for ill or good.

The fact that you come into the course with opinions about the subject can be both an advantage and a drawback. Opinions may induce curiosity, or make us rigid about how we approach information. If you allow your opinions to arouse your curiosity, this course will help you examine the validity of your own opinions and see how politics may affect your life.

Throughout this book, we shall be discussing nine political systems. Two of these systems underwent dramatic changes in the late 1980s and early 1990s. One, Germany, became a single nation-state in 1871, but was separated into East and West from the end of World War II until 1990; therefore, when appropriate, we shall discuss it as two separate nation-states which recently reunified. The other system,

Russia, has been a single political unit for many centuries, gradually conquering other peoples. In 1921, it was organized into fifteen separate republics as the Soviet Union; in 1991, those fifteen republics all declared themselves independent and the USSR dissolved. However, the republics remain bound by strong economic ties and share remnants of a formerly unified military. Some of them created a loose organization called the Commonwealth of Independent States in an effort to sort these ties out.

As we summarize discussions at the end of chapters, you will see these nine systems grouped like this:

- United States (USA)
- West Germany (FRG)
- United Kingdom (UK)
- Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)
- East Germany (GDR)
- China (PRC)
- India (RI)
- Peru (RP)
- Nigeria (FRN)

Those in the first group are commonly called industrialized democracies, and those in the third, developing nations. Those in the center group are (or have been until recently) communist systems. The book notes many common characteristics within these groupings, but does not generally label them in this manner.

Systems in one group share characteristics with systems in the others. Yet each is to some extent unique in its history and culture, with attributes not shared by the others. Many citizens and a variety of leaders in all these systems exert influence, and affect the ways rewards and punishments are distributed; many other citizens do not. The pattern of who exerts influence, and who does not, varies from system to system.

Some of these systems distribute material rewards more equally, and allow more freedoms, among their citizens than others. All are undergoing changes which could make those distributions different in the future. Who receives what rewards and freedoms depends on powerful, impersonal forces, and subtle interactions among political, military, social, technological, and economic institutions. But it also depends, in a very personal way, on the attitudes of people, and the influence they are capable of exerting—on how you and I and others think and act.

For example, Americans are becoming aware that it is vitally important to maintain our manufacturing base if our standard of living is to remain high. Yet, the factors that affect our manufacturing base are complex and uncertain. Consider this: The former Soviet Union became a military superpower, rivalling the United States in its output of weapons and giving most of its populace education and access to media. The USSR and another communist system, China, surpass India in distributing goods among their own people.

Yet China and India are more successful than the former Soviet Union at manufacturing goods which sell on world markets. They have access to the sea, long traditions of buying and selling, fertile agriculture, and other traits that help create that success. The former Soviet Union (like China) has a road system far more primitive than India's, and, unlike China and India, its people have little experience manufacturing, buying, and selling on free markets. Now that the Soviet superpower has collapsed, can the nation-states formed from it compete with China and India, not to mention Western Europe and the United States? Will the post-Soviet republics develop modern economies, or will they prefer to isolate themselves from the political and economic freedoms offered by the outside world?

The answers to these questions depend on how their attitudes evolve, and how they use their growing influence. If the CIS nation-states return to isolation, the Cold War could resume, bringing with it the high cost of massive arms production and maintenance of bases and troops around the world. Meanwhile, China may increasingly take jobs from

American workers as its production capacities increase, while remaining a communist state. Personal attitudes and attributes, as well as broad, impersonal forces, interact to determine the economic and political futures of all these systems.

Consider also the movement toward democratization around the globe. In Latin America, Peru (which has known many decades of military rule) took the lead in attempting to establish democratic government. Yet Peru exports 60 percent of the world's cocaine, and the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency has discovered that its political system blocks all efforts to control this trade. The military government of Nigeria, Africa's largest and most populous country, has led the way in attempting to establish democratic government there. The system they are trying to create is slow in coming; its success or failure will have a strong impact on the success of democracy elsewhere in Africa and the Middle East. That, in turn, can affect the political stability of this region, where the United States has maintained a long military presence. Once again, the attitudes of people in those countries, and the influence they learn to exert, will determine whether the democratic institutions created there can work. Our attitudes toward their democratization (or our lack of knowledge about it) will also play a role; it is generally easier and more effective to use subtle aid and pressure while positive events are taking place than to send troops in after crises emerge.

We know something about our own country and some of the countries of Europe. Often, the rest of the world remains a bit of a void. This book will introduce you better to our own country, as well as to several countries in various parts of the world. And it will let you see how the lives of others around the globe relate to ours.

The book proceeds in a logical progression. Part 1 quickly introduces basic concepts and themes of the course. Part 2 examines *why* people think and act as they do in politics. Part 3 looks at *how* people think and act; it suggests that when more people are involved in politics, view their leaders and national policies as legitimate, trust one another, and feel effective and willing to compromise, the result may be greater equality, freedom, protection for the

environment, and public order. Part 4 examines whether this premise proves true in the real world. And part 5 looks at how technology, economics, and social forces effect political change.

You can follow one country through the book by using the index and the chart at the end of this preface, which indicates where longer discussions about each country appear. Because an understanding of the future requires understanding of the past, these longer discussions will familiarize you with some of the history of these lands.

After you learn some basic vocabulary in chapter 1, and gain an understanding of how political systems are organized in chapters 2–4, chapter 5 introduces the main themes of the book. The book is divided into 33 separate chapters, rather than a few long ones, so that you can think through each of these themes one step at a time. Each chapter opens and closes with a summary of the chapter. In addition, the beginning of each chapter features a phrase or question in **boldface** to highlight the chapter's central theme. Make a habit of thinking about these highlighted themes before you read a chapter, and perhaps reviewing both the introduction and the end-of-chapter summary before you delve into the chapter itself.

At the end of each chapter are Exercises designed to help you understand the chapter. The section that instructs you to “think about the book thus far” at the beginning of the exercises asks you to take a couple of minutes to relate the chapter you have just read to those that came before it. Your ability to do this is a good measure of whether you are grasping the themes of each chapter and putting them in context. Answering the questions and defining the words and phrases will also help you focus on the main ideas and alert you to important terms that will appear throughout the text. Notice that these terms are **highlighted in boldface** in each chapter. They appear in the exercise in the same order they appear in the chapter, and they are also listed in the index.

In the Thinking it Through exercise at the end of each section of exercises, you will have a chance to integrate the chapter concepts and relate them to the main question discussed in the chapter. By filling

in the charts and answering the questions in this section, you will single out the significant elements in the narrative and better understand how the book ties together.

If the summary at the end of the chapter is not completely clear to you, work on the exercises. If it remains unclear, ask your instructor about the parts you do not understand. If you understand the summaries, you understand the book; if not, you are not grasping the main themes.

This book talks about places, events, and people—past and present—that you may or may not be familiar with. It usually defines and discusses them briefly. But if you want to know a bit more about the Protestant Revolution or the Renaissance; or if you find differences between communist and capitalist marketing systems confusing, or are confronted with information that is not familiar and not adequately explained, ask about it. Learning begins with asking questions, and it blossoms when you think these questions through. The exercises and your instructor will give you questions to stimulate your thoughts; ask your own as well, focusing on what you know, do not know, and are interested in.

The footnotes, gathered at the end of each chapter, contain a lot of human interest stories, statistics, recommended reading, and explanations of points that may not be clear.

As a science, political science is concerned with how and why things happen. That requires analysis—a somewhat imposing word that simply means you must think through how separate parts relate to a whole. Especially in the beginning, you will need to memorize some words, details about how authority is distributed and elections are held, and the like. But starting in chapter 2, the text emphasizes comparison. As you approach a chart, table, or paragraph discussing more than one country, ask yourself: “Which has more, and which has less? How does this compare with what we discussed in the last chapter?” Finding the patterns in the answers to these questions can move you beyond memorization to analysis. You will also find that what you are learning here will profoundly impact the way you live your life.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I want to thank May and Keith for their patience while this dragon tiptoed through, nibbling away big chunks of my time, and sometimes even roaming from my office to sprawl on the dining room table or the living room rug with the grin of a beast that had just swallowed the house.

Writing a successful text means obtaining the input and advice of many people. Whitney T. Perkins of Brown University, Bill Hunt of William Jewell College, and Angela Burger of the University of Wisconsin, Wausau, gave me invaluable insight from their careful reading of the early manuscript. Large numbers of my students helped me focus my perspective as I used increasing portions of the manuscript in various classes. I would like to thank the following reviewers for their helpful criticisms and suggestions: David Atkinson, University of Missouri-Kansas City; Paul Barton-Kriese, Indiana University East; John Bendix, Lewis & Clark College; Robert Evanson, University of Missouri-Kansas City; Trond Gilberg, Penn State University; the late Charles Gillespie, University of Wisconsin, Madison; Jack Heysinger, University of Missouri-Kansas City; Victor LeVine, Washington University; James Lutz, Purdue University; Steve Mazurana, University of Northern Colorado; Peter Merkle, University of California, Santa Barbara; Joseph Ripple, Missouri Western State University; Sanford Silverburg, Catawba College; and Kathleen Staud, University of Texas, El Paso.

Oleg I. Gubin of Moscow State University, David Guillet of Catholic University of America, my colleagues, Dale Neuman and Ross Stephens, and one of my students, Charlie Dell, provided me with useful information. I am grateful for a lot of help from the staff of the UMKC library, and to the staff at the Library of Congress for use of the private research room and their help in tracking down material. Henry Mitchell, the UMKC Associates, Max Skidmore, Nona Bolling, and Dave Finestead gave needed practical assistance and moral support at various stages along the way. Randy Bush of Gustavus Adolphus College provided beneficial suggestions when he used the manuscript in class. Though it doesn't show enough, Jack Reak and James McKinley helped simplify and clarify my writing. Kip May, Henry Mitchell, Peggy Mitchell, Roy Gridley, Rodney Wilson, Gordon Seyffert, World Wide Photos, Mike Gamer, Nona Bolling, Gary Widmar, and Dolores Potts let me use some fine photos. Keith Buchanan created initial designs for illustrations, as well as some of the final renditions. Anne Caylor Cody did a superb job of copy editing.

Our hosts abroad are so numerous I fear that an attempt to list people or institutions would lead to too many omissions; I have learned much from you, and have benefited from many a good deed. But Professor Bian and Yu Xunda, our hosts at Hangzhou University during the spring and summer of 1989 and again in 1993, have a special place in our hearts and must be mentioned. And, Harry and Hilda, this book is for Elsa, too.

More Detailed Discussions about Individual Systems¹

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Topic</i>	<i>USA</i>	<i>USSR, CIS</i>	<i>FRG</i>	<i>GDR</i>	<i>UK</i>	<i>PRC</i>	<i>RI</i>	<i>RP</i>	<i>FRN</i>
4	Access of candidates to media and money	*		*		*				*
9	Employment			*	*		*			
11	National identity and		*							
14	political efficacy									
15	Attitudes about equality	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
16	Attitudes about power and authority	*	*							
17	Beliefs about law	*	*	*	*	*		*		
19	Political party systems									*
20	Interest groups	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*
21	Consensual parties and change						*	*	*	*
23	Totalitarianism		*	*	*					
	Bureaucracy		*					*	*	*
	Military rule								*	*
25	Incomes							*	*	*
26	Opportunity for women and minorities	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
27	Freedoms	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
28	Protection for the environment	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		
31	Innovation and change	*	*	*	*	*	*			
32	Innovation and change							*	*	*
33	Productivity						*			

¹See explanation of abbreviations, page 39.

BRIEF CONTENTS

PREFACE xvii

part 1 BASICS

- Chapter 1* ACQUIRING A VOCABULARY 3
Chapter 2 GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS 15
Chapter 3 POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTIONS 41
Chapter 4 CITIZEN PARTICIPATION 69
Chapter 5 INFLUENCE 84
Chapter 6 POLITICAL RECRUITMENT, SOCIALIZATION, AND CULTURE 96

part 2 ACQUIRING INFLUENCE

POLITICAL RECRUITMENT

- Chapter 7* UNDERSTANDING PUBLIC ISSUES 107
Chapter 8 POLITICAL RESOURCES: FOOD, CLOTHING, AND SHELTER 117
Chapter 9 POLITICAL RESOURCES: JOBS AND SKILLS 133
Chapter 10 INTO INSTITUTIONS 148

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

- Chapter 11* WHO CAN RULE? 163
Chapter 12 WHAT DO I SEEK FROM RULERS? 179
Chapter 13 HOW SHOULD I USE INFLUENCE? 192

part 3 USING INFLUENCE

POLITICAL CULTURE

- Chapter 14* NATIONAL IDENTITY 203
Chapter 15 EQUALITY AND RECRUITMENT 216
Chapter 16 POWER AND AUTHORITY 233
Chapter 17 LEGAL PROTECTION 246
Chapter 18 ASSIMILATION INTO MODERN INSTITUTIONS 262

PARTIES, INTEREST GROUPS, AND ELECTIONS

- Chapter 19* POLITICAL PARTIES 275
Chapter 20 INTEREST GROUPS 297
Chapter 21 CONSENSUAL PARTIES AND CHANGE 315

GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

- Chapter 22* LEGISLATURES AND EXECUTIVES 337
Chapter 23 BUREAUCRACY, MILITARY, PLURALISM, AND CORRUPTION 352
Chapter 24 LAW AND PUBLIC POLICY 368

part 4 INFLUENCE AND PEOPLE'S LIVES

EQUALITY

- Chapter 25* MATERIAL WELL-BEING 377
Chapter 26 OPPORTUNITY 408

FREEDOM

- Chapter 27* FREEDOM 425

THE ENVIRONMENT

- Chapter 28* THE ENVIRONMENT 449

PUBLIC ORDER

- Chapter 29* PUBLIC ORDER 467

part 5 SYSTEMS, INFLUENCE, AND CHANGE

- Chapter 30* INFLUENCING CHANGE 479
Chapter 31 CORPORATE AND STATE-CONSUMER SYSTEMS 495
Chapter 32 PATRON-CLIENT SYSTEMS 518
Chapter 33 TRANSFORMING SYSTEMS 534

INDEX 557

EXPANDED CONTENTS

PREFACE xvii

part 1 BASICS 1

1 ACQUIRING A VOCABULARY 3

- Nation-States and Their Government
 - Institutions 4
 - Other Institutions 8
 - Politics and the Political System 10
 - Looking Ahead: Three Types of Political Systems in Nation-States 11
- Summary 12
- Notes 12
- Exercises 13
- Thinking It Through 13

2 GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS 15

- Six Arrangements of Sovereignty 16
 - Presidential Systems* 19
 - Parliamentary Systems* 21
 - Military Rule* 23
 - Monarchies and Theocratic States* 24
 - One Party Rule* 24
- Other Competitors in Exercising Sovereignty 25
 - Cabinets* 25
 - Other Top Executives* 27
 - Other Levels of Government* 27
- Summary 32
- Notes 33
- Exercises 37
- Thinking It Through 39

3 POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTIONS 41

- Facilitating Cooperation Amid Competition 41
- Party Rules Affecting Cooperation 47
 - Membership* 47
 - Permanent Staff* 48
 - Choosing Party Leaders and Nominees* 49
- Consensual Parties, Splinter Parties, and Cooperation 54
- Election Rules and Consensual Parties 57
 - Registration* 57
 - Gerrymandering* 57
 - Multi- or Single-Member Districts with Plurality or Majority Win* 57
- Conclusion 62
- Summary 62
- Notes 63
- Exercises 66
- Thinking It Through 66

4 CITIZEN PARTICIPATION 69

- Citizen Links with Government 69
- Choosing Officeholders 72
- Becoming Officeholders 76
- Carrying Out Decisions 80
- Conclusion 80
- Summary 81
- Notes 82
- Exercises 83
- Thinking It Through 83

5 INFLUENCE 84

Part 2: How People Acquire Influence 84

Understanding Public Issues 85

Commanding Political Resources—

What Others Need, Fear, Defer to, or Desire 86

Understanding How to Use Need, Fear, Deference, and Desire 87

Accessing Institutions 87

Setting Objectives 89

Part 3: How People Use Influence 90

Part 4: The Results of Influence 91

Part 5: Changing Systems 92

Summary 94

Notes 94

Exercises 94

Thinking It Through 95

6 POLITICAL RECRUITMENT, SOCIALIZATION, AND CULTURE 96

Political Socialization and Recruitment 97

Political Culture, Government Policy, and Corruption 99

Summary 101

Notes 102

Exercises 102

Thinking It Through 103

part 2 ACQUIRING INFLUENCE 105

7 POLITICAL RECRUITMENT—UNDERSTANDING PUBLIC ISSUES 107

Access to News 107

Access to Education 109

Summary 113

Notes 113

Exercises 115

Thinking It Through 116

8 POLITICAL RECRUITMENT—RESOURCES: FOOD, CLOTHING, AND SHELTER 117

Producers 117

Consumers 120

Other Necessities 123

Capitalism, Communism, and Socialism 126

Summary 128

Notes 128

Exercises 131

Thinking It Through 131

9 POLITICAL RECRUITMENT—RESOURCES: JOBS AND SKILLS 133

Getting Government's Attention 133

Basic, Generic, and Specialized Skills as Political Resources 136

China's Special Mutual Dependencies 141

Conclusion on Resources 144

Summary 145

Notes 145

Exercises 146

Thinking It Through 147

10 POLITICAL RECRUITMENT—INTO INSTITUTIONS 148

Understanding How to Use Resources to Influence the Outcomes of Issues 148

Developing Access to the Institutions Where Issues Are Resolved 151

Setting Clear Objectives for Resolving Issues 155

Conclusion on Recruitment 156

Summary 157

Notes 157

Exercises 161

Thinking It Through 161

11 POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION— WHO CAN RULE? 163

- Historical Experience as a
Nation-State 163
- Traditional Obedience to Authority 167
- Economic Hardship and
Disobedience 171
- Efficacy, Obedience, and Limits 172
- Summary 174
- Notes 174
- Exercises 177
- Thinking It Through 177

12 POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION— WHAT DO I SEEK FROM RULERS? 179

- What People Want from
Government 179
- What People Learn about Government
and Political Issues 184
- Summary 188
- Notes 189
- Exercises 190
- Thinking It Through 191

13 POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION— HOW SHOULD I USE INFLUENCE? 192

- Power as Means and Ends 192
- Using Influence to Support Leaders 193
- Deciding to Use Influence 194
- Putting It All Together: Political
Recruitment and Socialization 194
- Using Influence: Seeking Individual
Interests versus the Common
Good 197
- Summary 198
- Notes 198
- Exercises 199
- Thinking It Through 200

part 3 USING INFLUENCE 201

14 POLITICAL CULTURE—NATIONAL IDENTITY 203

- National and Subnational Identities 203
- Imperialism and Confused National
Identity 209
- Conclusion 212
- Summary 212
- Notes 212
- Exercises 214
- Thinking It Through 215

15 POLITICAL CULTURE—EQUALITY AND RECRUITMENT 216

- Equality and Recruitment: Old
Systems 216
- Equality and Recruitment: New
Systems 224
- Conclusion: Beliefs about Equality and
Recruitment 227
- Summary 228
- Notes 228
- Exercises 231
- Thinking It Through 232

16 POLITICAL CULTURE—POWER AND AUTHORITY 233

- Legitimate Authority as Lawful Exercise
of Power 234
- Ambivalence about Power, Authority,
and Legitimacy 236
- Legitimate and Illegitimate
Authority 240
- Conclusion 241
- Summary 242
- Notes 242
- Exercises 245
- Thinking It Through 245

17 POLITICAL CULTURE—LEGAL PROTECTION 246

- Prescriptions for Prescriptions 246
- Common Law versus Hierarchical Law 247
- Adapting Hierarchical Law to Individual Rights 251
- Li and Fa 253
- Old versus New Systems of Law 254
- Conclusion 258
- Summary 258
- Notes 259
- Exercises 260
- Thinking It Through 261

18 POLITICAL CULTURE—ASSIMILATION INTO MODERN INSTITUTIONS 262

- Assimilation and Compromise 264
- Protest 266
- Impotence 267
- Assimilation and Legal Protection 268
- Summary 269
- Notes 270
- Exercises 271
- Thinking It Through 271
- An Afterword on Scientific Method 274

19 PARTIES, INTEREST GROUPS, AND ELECTIONS—POLITICAL PARTIES 275

- Consensual and Splinter Parties 277
- What Supports Consensual Parties? 281
- Election Rules and Compromise 284
- Media and Compromise 285
- Economic Integration and Compromise 286
- Consensual Parties, Splinter Parties, and Civic Culture 290
- Summary 291
- Notes 292
- Exercises 295
- Thinking It Through 295

20 PARTIES, INTEREST GROUPS, AND ELECTIONS—INTEREST GROUPS 297

- Legal Protection 298
- Legal Barriers 303
- Social and Economic Barriers 306
- Conclusion 310
- Summary 310
- Notes 311
- Exercises 314
- Thinking It Through 314

21 PARTIES, INTEREST GROUPS, ELECTIONS—CONSENSUAL PARTIES AND CHANGE 315

- Power Realignments, Party Dealignments, and Expanded Participation 315
- Power Realignments, Amateur Party Realignments, and Expanded Participation 319
- Power Realignment, Party Dealignments, and Narrowed Participation 324
- Conclusion 331
- Summary 332
- Notes 332
- Exercises 335
- Thinking It Through 336

22 GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS—LEGISLATURES AND EXECUTIVES 337

- Deciding Government Policy 337
- Affecting Decisions about Government Policy 338
- Legislatures* 339
- Executives* 344
- Political Parties* 345
- Conclusion 347
- Summary 348
- Notes 348
- Exercises 349
- Thinking It Through 351

23 GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS—BUREAUCRACY, MILITARY, PLURALISM, AND CORRUPTION 352

Bureaucracy 352
Military Rule 354
Pluralism and Corruption 356
Epilogue 363
Summary 363
Notes 364
Exercises 366
Thinking It Through 366

24 GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS— LAW AND PUBLIC POLICY 368

Legal Safeguards for People Without
Influence 370
Conclusion 372
Summary 372
Notes 373
Exercises 373
Thinking It Through 374

part 4 INFLUENCE AND PEOPLE'S LIVES 375

25 EQUALITY—MATERIAL WELL-BEING 377

Food 377
Income 380
Housing 387
Health Care 389
Government Services 393
Consumer Goods and Services 394
Summary 397
Notes 397
Exercises 407
Thinking It Through 407

26 EQUALITY—OPPORTUNITY 408

Opportunity in the USA and CIS 408
Opportunity in the United Kingdom and
Germany 411
Opportunity in China 412
Opportunity in India 413
Opportunity in Peru 416
Opportunity in Nigeria 417
Conclusion 418
Summary 419
Notes 419
Exercises 424
Thinking It Through 424

27 FREEDOM 425

Freedom in the United States and the
CIS 425
Freedom in the United Kingdom and
Germany 431
Freedom in China and India 435
Freedom in Peru and Nigeria 438
Conclusion 441
Summary 442
Notes 443
Exercises 448
Thinking It Through 448

28 THE ENVIRONMENT 449

"Industrialized" Countries 450
"Less-Industrialized" Countries 457
Whose Choice? 461
Summary 463
Notes 463
Exercises 466
Thinking It Through 466

29 PUBLIC ORDER 467

Satisfaction 467
Order and Change 471
Pleasing Those with Influence 473
Summary 475
Notes 475
Exercises 476
Thinking It Through 476

part 5 **SYSTEMS, INFLUENCE,
AND CHANGE 477**

30 INFLUENCING CHANGE 479

A Development Model 479
Political Development and Personal
Environments 479
Personal Environments and the
Nation-State 483
Summary 491
Notes 491
Exercises 493
Thinking It Through 494

**31 CORPORATE- AND
STATE-CONSUMER SYSTEMS 495**

A Development Model 495
USA and CIS 496
The United Kingdom and Germany 502
China 506
Summary 511
Notes 511
Exercises 517
Thinking It Through 517

32 PATRON-CLIENT SYSTEMS 518

A Development Model 518
India 518
Peru 525
Nigeria 528
Conclusion 529
Summary 530
Notes 531
Exercises 532
Thinking It Through 533

33 TRANSFORMING SYSTEMS 534

A Development Model 534
Productivity, Jobs, and
Consumption 534
Productivity, Capital, and System
Survival 537
Summary 549
Notes 549
Exercises 554
Thinking It Through 555

INDEX 557